

The Industrial Union Bulletin

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CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 23, 1907

THEY SHUN THE LIMELIGHT

That the banking fraternity don't want too much public attention focused in this direction just at this time is illustrated plainly enough the other day in Chicago. In the trial of Walsh, the financial pirate, for bank wrecking, it was the intention of the defense to prove that Walsh had done as a common practice with bankers generally, that he had done no more than other bankers were doing continually—which was no doubt true enough. When the hearing of the case was adjourned on Friday, November 15, to be taken up again last Monday morning, it was given out that bankers galore would be summoned to testify in support of "the other fellow did it" plea. But between Friday and Monday the lawyers for the bank wrecker heard a great noise from the bankers, and in the capitalist papers Monday morning the announcement was made that the plan to put bankers on the stand had been abandoned. It was declared that members of the Clearing House Association communicated with the attorneys and with Mr. Walsh, urging that such a charge at this time against bankers generally WOULD BRING SERIOUS RESULTS.

All of which has strong earmarks of probability. If all the bankers could be brought into court and compelled to testify whereof they know about the plundering schemes of each other, it is no doubt true that the disclosure would "bring serious results."

And if those on the inside of the cause for the present financial stress could be made to disclose all the facts and the capitalist newspapers compelled to print them, there is no question but the revelation would "bring serious trouble."

In the end, however, the trouble would be all for the bankers and their predatory progeny, if the workers learned the impossibility of prosperity and progress by retaining the profit system.

IS GOMPERS A GRAFTER?

The president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, is under serious charges of graft. Instead of demanding an investigation at the hands of the convention now in session at Norfolk, Virginia, what does he do? He says let Mr. Van Cleave, president of the National Manufacturers' Association, come out in the open and make the charge against himself. The charges are specific enough. They are accompanied with much detail and documentary backing, and although originating in a hostile quarter, they cannot be ignored. They appear in "American Industries," edited by Mr. Van Cleave and show an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the A. F. of L. We printed many details of the charges in last week's Bulletin and here briefly review them.

Gompers is charged with living beyond his visible income in Washington, with getting big private commissions on the great amount of printing given out by the A. F. of L., with being in various partnerships for the issuing of official labor publications, with being interested in schemes whereby enormous commissions are paid out to advertising agencies for the issue of "divvy" with selling printing privileges in connection with the souvenirs that were formerly gotten out and putting the money in his pocket, and with being concerned in debaucheries and orgies and scandals.

It is not upon the benevolence of the possessing class, nor upon sentiments of brotherhood and love that the producers of the world must depend for deliverance from the injustice and brutality of the capitalist mode of production. To achieve freedom, the one necessary condition is the organization powerful enough to take hold of and operate the means whereby they live, and to control the institutions now used by the possessing class to justify and defend property. The working class will organize and exercise their power to take and hold when they become conscious that there is no wealth without work and no rich class without a contributory poor class. When the producers understand this, that the riches of the few result from the poverty of many, that poverty for the masses is the dawn of the new day, and that the few for the few is a fact, the great revolution, will accomplish their task.

The guarantee of class-conscious action at the ballot box is the existence of class-consciousness in the mine, mill, factory and transportation service. If there is no unity and no recognition of class interests where the workers are employed, capitalist politicians can readily succeed in dividing them by the prey of designing politicians where they work, they are logically the prey of designing politicians where they vote. Industrial Unionism aims to unite the workers in the industrial field, to enlighten them regarding their interests in the realm of production; that accomplished, intelligent action will characterize their movements elsewhere, and they will not be coerced by fear or diverted from their mission by sentimentality and compromise.

The dynamite most needed in the labor movement of America is compounded of ideas. The strongest weapon labor has in its armory is the clear brain, the mind saturated with revolutionary principles, that knows no compromise, that conceives the revolution as a complete transformation from private to social ownership of all the essential means of life.

With that conception, clear and definitely fixed in the working-class mind, the revolution is seen to be dependent for its complete accomplishment, in the interest of the working class, upon the industrial organization of the working class. The revolution means, for us, education, organization, discipline—in a word, preparation.

Industrial Unionists have been called the "confiscators of industry," because they propose to "take and hold" the tools and means of employment. And this is exactly what we mean. We make no pretense of gaining economic freedom by the middle class reform route, or passing resolutions against "coolie and Mongolian labor," or setting up a "postal savings bank," or erecting public "lavatories" on street corners, or making somebody an office holding attaché of a capitalist government. We are after a government of the working class and by the working class, and against every other class, and a government that will take possession of the things that are essential to the working class.

All things are possible to the workers through effective organization that makes them masters of their own jobs and their own tools. When the power to control and operate the mine and the shop, the mill and the factory, the railway and all distributive agencies, is in the hands of an educated and disciplined working-class organization, there is no power left that can prevail against the working class. The duty, the mission of the workers is clear: Build up the organization, the industrial administration of your class, to take possession of all factors now used to enslave you.

Brewers Will Be Reinstated

The prospect is that the charter of the United Brewers, which was revoked by Gompers, will be restored by the convention of the A. F. of L., now in session at Norfolk, Va., thus nipping in the bud the scheme to line up the brewers with the fake industrial movement which some folks really think will be launched under the leadership of the Mahoneyites in January. A resolution which went to the committee and will be reported upon calls for the restoration of the revoked charter on the ground that the act of revocation is a policy of coercion and a radical departure from the policies of "arbitration and persuasion," and so forth. The main factors in the convention against the brewers are the International Engineers, Firemen and Teamsters.

Two results flow from the meeting of the A. F. of L. at Norfolk, Va. First, the organization has put itself on record against government ownership of railroads and mines; second, the convention raised the pay of Gompers to \$5,000 and of Morrison, the secretary, to \$4,000.

The first action rejects two planks taken from the Socialist party platform, which are very dear to the heart of certain pseudo-Socialists, and is a crushing response to the efforts they have been making for years as "borders within." The comfortable increase in the salaries of \$1,500 a year each—equal to the yearly wages of three average workers—contributing to the craft unionism—is a substantial recognition of the peculiarly valuable services which the recipients render to capitalism.

Saturday, November 16, was a booming day for new subscriptions to THE BULLETIN. Four mails that day brought in 150 new names (with the cash) for a year. There was a good bunch from Montana, a bigger one from Utah and small lots from other sections of the country. It means an increase of about 250 for the week.

Monday, November 18, there came to general headquarters a charter application for a new local in British Columbia and among the charter members is a former member of the second Russian dome.

Economic Determinism

Is economic determinism a fact or not? It shall be the purpose of this article to prove that it is. To understand the stages of development from the old order to the new we must search elsewhere than in the minds of men, and we will soon find that changes are forced by and through the change in the economic base upon which any society is built. The base is the method on which production and distribution is carried on. In accordance with that all individuals must adapt themselves if they wish to survive in the struggle for existence.

Let us take a few examples from life today. Take a physician who is practicing medicine; if very seldom happens when you call him that he tells you that he can do nothing for you, and that he does not understand the nature of your sickness. Why? Because he is, through economic necessity, forced to have the "doctors and understudies" the longer he can keep you hanging on and lingering in your sickness, the steadier will his income be. It is not a paying proposition for him to cure you fast, as we all know, when any economic determinism is a fact. For example: Why does an employer hire labor? Only one motive, and that is to acquire surplus value. Mark well that the moment we as wage slaves do not produce any surplus value for our jobs. Why? Because the master class has always acted in accordance with their economic interest. They are numerically the smallest class, and still we find that 1 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

How is it worked? Let us see: The capitalist has learned how to adapt himself in the struggle for existence. Capitalists, as we all know, when any strike or conflict is on between capitalists and the working class, the capitalists stand united, while labor stands separated and divided, which counts for the many, defeat and labor has suffered of late in the struggle. Why? We must learn the trick the capitalist has learned, and that is to unite the whole working class in one union against the capitalist union, which knows that labor produces all wealth. Yes, fellow-workers, we wage slaves do the world's work; upon us rests the whole structure of society; we live in misery and want, while the capitalists, the social parasites, have all the good things of life. Is it not high time that we slaves should know a little more about our material welfare?

I for one think so. Come, wake up; let us organize and educate ourselves in the industrial Workers of the World, and that done, I know we will have the power to take and hold the product of our labor for ourselves. Our motto is, "The worker shall have all he produces, and the capitalist shall produce nothing." Yes, this, some one will say, sounds very fine, but it can't be done because the slaves will not stand together. But let us go back to the economic condition which we are suffering under, and right here let me say it is not a question of what you like or don't like. Economic conditions will force you to either properly adapt yourselves in the struggle for existence, and mark well, if you don't, you will go to hell, to a condition even worse than the present. Let me point out the underlying reasons that to me seem very logical: note the industrial evolution, the invention of the machine, the power loom, the steam engine, the internal combustion engine, and there he meets with capitalists renders a great number of us slaves useless, and when we have no job we have no income; having no income, we cannot buy our necessities and we suffer. Under such conditions, if we are not organized, we are lost. We cannot be otherwise, because labor being a commodity has its value governed by the cost of production, or in this case the cost of reproduction, which in the United States means the cost of production of the total product we produce, and that is all we can consume. Now the surplus value that the capitalist has extracted from our labor he can't himself consume; he must sell it in the world market, and there he meets with capitalists from most all countries of the world. He is in the same business as all other capitalists, all having something to sell. Now tell me who is going to buy. This is a question that every capitalist will answer for you, and when they can't sell they close the shop and lock the worker out. Now, mark well, this you are locked out by the results of your own labor.

In these industrial crises you fellow-workers must decide whether you want to die or live, and if you want to live you must so thoroughly organize yourselves that you can laugh at the capitalist shut-down routine you can go on production for the producer, the useful class. Workers of the world, unite in an industrial form of organization. The Industrial Workers of the World is that kind of organization. United we are strong; separated we are weak. Therefore, unite with us. C. H. AXELSON, Minneapolis, Minn.

"What We Have We Hold"

There is one body of men in the W. F. M. who will not be bulldozed by copper kings and labor fakery into accepting any reduction in wages owing to the lowering of the prices of copper by speculators. They are the miners and smelters in the Boundary district of British Columbia. At Phoenix, Grand Forks and Greenwood the locals are loyal to the Industrial Workers of the World. They know that the companies made millions of dollars when copper was 27 cents, as the companies had previously stated when copper was 10¢ cents that they could mine at 9 cents a pound and make a profit. The miners of Greenwood local have in their union hall the picture of a bulldog with 700 and his feet on the rest. Underneath it is the inscription, "What we have we hold" and this is the motto of the Boundary miners. No Butte contracts with the copper kings and the W. F. M. of the Industrial Unionists in that district. What they have they will hold.

Some Coal Field Figures

The anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania includes 17,000 square miles. Of actual coal deposits there are 480 square miles. The lowest beds are in the Wyoming section, where the coal is 200 feet above sea level. The highest are in Hazleton and Freeland, 1,750 feet above sea level. There are thirty-two nationalities in the population of the coal fields.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Executive Board Member Cole writes his opinion on the points submitted by Fellow Worker Fox, as follows:

"Blue Island, Nov. 9, 1907. 'Yours of November 1, and communications from W. R. Fox and of Local No. 12 of Los Angeles, Cal., received. I hold that the position Fox holds is right; there should be a rule compelling the workers to form an industrial union with a given number of members; say, if there are, as you suggest, fifteen members of one industry in a mixed local, then those fifteen should immediately charter into an industrial union; but if by so doing it would destroy or weaken the mixed local, then I would not advise the industrial union; but the situation at Cincinnati and Los Angeles is not such. 'This rule would be the means of getting them to charter in branches with an industrial council and put to rest the caste and inharmonious debates. Therefore I hold that Fellow Worker Fox is correct in the four positions as defined in his letter, and also hold that this will cover the California situation to the columns of The Bulletin to further discussion of the political phase; that has been settled by the delegates at the third annual convention of the I. W. W. and I for one am utterly opposed to such actions upon our part, and delegates almost unanimously voting to stand by the preamble.'"

Full statement with extracts from minutes of meetings of the L. A. B. and former ruling committee of the I. W. W., with the request that for future guidance an interpretation be given on Article 8 (new section).

Also the following letter was transmitted by the general secretary-treasurer:

"Find enclosed copy of letter received from the secretary of the local in London, Ontario, Canada."

"It appears that the locals in Canada jointly will place Roadhouse in the field as organizer, and as he is a reliable and valuable man, no objection should be raised against him being granted credit as organizer by the G. E. B. 'Some one may infer from the contents of the letter that Roadhouse is to be joint organizer for the I. W. W. and the S. L. P. I have written to London that such a thing is not permitted. If Roadhouse is engaged as organizer by the locals in Canada, he must confine his duties strictly to the propaganda for the I. W. W., and in no way make it appear that he is an organizer for the S. L. P. I am co-operating in the maintenance of such an organization. I hope you will see the necessity of enforcing such a rule."

"Fellow Worker Keep, of Columbus, informed me about the members that went out on strike in the Jeffery plant. All of them have secured employment somewhere else, except an old man, who was the first one to walk out, and is without employment and means of existence, and it is very hard for him to get a job. He wants that some support be given that one man until he gets a position somewhere else."

"I wish to inform you also that the strike in Vancouver is declared off. The stevedores agreed to let all the strike-breakers go, and the union agreed to the 40¢ per hour payment. A full account of that strike settlement is given in The Bulletin by Organizer Walsh. The local there intends to build up the organization and organize all the workers of the water front, so that they will have more strength for any future conflict."

"Letters received from the British Columbia coal mining districts show that the miners there now organized under the United Mine Workers of America are ready to test the strength of the I. W. W., especially the Italians, and they want to know whether an organizer will soon be in that district to start the propaganda among the miners. I wrote that the letters carry on the propaganda with literature, and I promised to furnish the literature until such time when the organizing work can be started."

The general secretary-treasurer demanded a ruling on Article 8 (new section), to-wit:

"Article 8. No member of the I. W. W. shall represent the organization before a body of wage earners without having been authorized by the G. E. B. or its subordinate part of the I. W. W."

This allows the interpretation of the constitutional provision to imply that "the General Executive Board has the right to request that members go through acts, words and otherwise, while

purporting to represent the organization before a body of wage earners, have made themselves obnoxious and have caused injury to the organization as a whole, be repudiated and forced by the subordinate body to discontinue their agitation. Failure to comply with any request of that kind shall cause the suspension of the subordinate body."

Kindly give your vote on this proposed interpretation, or suggest a different resolution covering a matter of such nature.

The members of the G. E. B. voted unanimously to comply with the request made by the Canadian locals to grant organizer's credentials to Robert Roadhouse, with the provision as stated in the letter of the general secretary-treasurer.

All voted for sending circular letters out to western locals about the organization of lumbermen.

They all voted also in giving assistance to the victimized member at Columbus.

On Article 8 (new section) Executive Board Members B. H. Williams, T. J. Cole, Fred Healdwood and W. Yates voted in favor of such a construction of the new section, while Executive Board Member R. K. Kinsinger voted against the article needs no further interpretation.

They all also voted unanimously in the arrangements made relative to supplying the coal miners' locals in British Columbia with literature preparatory to organizing work, which will be taken up later on.

As the convention had left to the G. E. B. the matter of preparing by-laws for the guidance of mixed organizations as well as industrial unions, the general secretary reported to the members of the G. E. B. that he had prepared such by-laws, and each of them was supplied with copies for approval.

New Charters Issued

Sheet Metal Workers Industrial Union, Philadelphia, Pa., Public Service Workers Industrial Union, Aurora, Minn.; Industrial Russian Local Union, Vancouver, B. C.; Industrial Workers Union, Prescott, Ariz.; Lettish Industrial Workers Union, New York, N. Y.

To Discuss Industrial Unionism

The "Socialist Review," West Hoboken, N. J., has decided to give a column of space each week for the discussion of Industrial Unionism, and Editor Dannenberg will also write a series of editorials in German on various phases of the movement. The "Review" is one S. P. paper which has long recognized the importance of the working class of the economic organization represented by the I. W. W., and we extend to it our cordial congratulations. The address of the paper is 724 Dodd street, West Hoboken, N. J.

Preston-Smith Fund

We are notified from Goldfield, Nev., that bank checks cannot be cashed there at this time, and to request all forwarding subscriptions to the Preston-Smith fund to send either P. O. money order or express order.

Portuguese Leaflets

The general headquarters has a supply of leaflets in the Portuguese language on Industrial Unionism, the price of which is \$5 per thousand. A knowledge of the movement among those workers speaking that language is desirable, and these leaflets furnish a practical means of accomplishing that end.

Lectures at Columbus

The lecture on economic subjects in the course of seven that is being delivered by Arthur Keep will be taken up on Sunday next, the 24th, at 2:30 p. m., at 111½ South High street, Columbus, Ohio.

This course of lectures, which opened on last Sunday, the 10th, and was suspended on the 17th, on account of Fellow Worker Keep being called to Cincinnati to address a meeting, will resume as stated above on the 24th and continue each Sunday.

Subscribers and those receiving a copy of The Bulletin will please take notice of this announcement. Tickets for the course, 25¢.

Signed, Committee of L. U.'s 257, and 170, I. W. W. Oscar Freer, Sec'y.

SPECIAL EDITION OF "THE BULLETIN"

Letters are frequently received at general headquarters of the I. W. W. from the West with requests for information regarding the Second Annual Convention, held September 17 to October 3, 1906. In the main these inquiries come from members of the Western Federation of Miners. The writers' invariable complaint is that "nothing, or next to nothing, is known in this camp about that convention," and all sorts of questions are asked concerning it. It is manifestly impossible to deal with the subject satisfactorily in the limitations of a single letter. And while we have endeavored in the past year to get the information desired into the hands of the rank and file, we have all along realized that to a great extent we were blocked by the counter-efforts of those acting officials of the miners' organizations who were never anxious that the facts should be known, and whose reports were distortions of such matters as they made pretense of dealing with. Thanks to the real industrial unionists in the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the W. F. M., the official report of that gathering contains very full information concerning many matters connected with the 1906 convention. But, as we understand, the sale of that report has so far been limited and disappointing, the result that few will become acquainted with the subject upon which many are seeking enlightenment.

In view of these circumstances, the issue of the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN for December 14 (No. 42) will be devoted almost entirely to a review of the struggle with reactionism in the convention of 1906 and subsequent developments. We shall make a special effort to get this narrative into the hands of the rank and file in the W. F. M., and to this end invite the co-operation of all who believe, as we do, that nothing can be gained for the working class by suppressing the truth or misrepresenting facts. We ask all such to send to this office during the next four weeks lists of names, with postoffice addresses, to whom copies of the special edition can be mailed. Organizations desiring to purchase bundles for distribution among members will be supplied at the rate of \$7.50 per thousand. But we desire more than anything else to get the paper into the hands of those who "know nothing or next to nothing" of the 1906 convention. So lists of names is what is most needed. To meet the additional expense of printing the edition, which may run to 30,000 copies, voluntary contributions are invited in lieu of bundle orders. The organization of the I. W. W. should guarantee by voluntary contributions the entire extra cost of printing the special edition.

We shall prove that the struggle of 1906 was not, as is frequently asserted, a mere personal quarrel or the result of personal differences, but that it grew out of a determination on the part of a combination of pure and simple political Socialists and reactionary pure and simple unionists to control the I. W. W. in their own behalf, or bring about its destruction.

Industrial Union

HANDBOOK

ITALIAN OR POLISH EDITIONS

\$5.00 a hundred prepaid

SEND ORDERS TO

212 Bush Temple, Chicago

Stuttart Congress on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relation of the Economic Organization to the Political Party.

"To enfranchise the proletarian combatants from the hands of industrial, political and economic reactionism the Political and the Economic struggle are alike necessary."

BUT

"The Union will not fully perform its duty unless it is the basis of the emancipation of the workers, unless a thorough Socialist spirit happens their policy."

ADD TO THE ABOVE

That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organization of the workers, is of primary importance and must supersede the political state, and the World Movement for Socialism is the Industrial Unionism TILLYMANT.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Leaflets in English, per 1,000—

Address to Wage Workers, \$1.50
The Textile Industry, 1.50
Food Stuff Industry, 1.50
Metal and Machinery Industry, 1.50
Story of a New Labor Union, 1.50

Leaflets in Italian, 3.00
" Swedish, 3.00
" Polish, 3.00
" Finnish, 3.00
" Slavonian, 3.00
" Croatian-Dalmatian, 4.00
" German, 4.00
" Yiddish, 3.00
" Rumanian, 4.00

Japanese, Address to Wage Earners, \$10.00
Japanese must be ordered from J. Schantz, 200 Jessie St., San Francisco, Cal.

I. W. W. CONSTITUTION

English, (per 100) . . . 5.00
Italian, " . . . 5.00
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German, " . . . 5.00
Polish, " . . . 5.00
Hungarian, " . . . 5.00
Spanish, " . . . 10.00

NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies by the General Office have the postage or express charges paid in advance.

W. E. TRAUTMANN
Room 212 Bush Temple
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

The Industrial Workers of the World has but one general office in Chicago, located in the Bush Temple, North Clark Street; it has no connection with any claimants to the name and repudiates any and all claims made by them.

Special Notice

A paid up subscription card for one year, signed by "J. O. Conland, 705 So. 13th street," but omitting postoffice and state, has been received at this office. We are dependent upon the party who sold the card or Mr. Conland himself to furnish the postoffice address. The card having been paid for in advance, we have no record showing to whom it was sold.

There's a close race on between Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Fred W. Healdwood in getting subscriptions for The Bulletin. Fred came to the front Tuesday morning with nineteen new "subs," but the second mail put Elizabeth to the fore with twenty-five more. The latter is working on the Mesaba range, while Fred is among the lumbermen of the northwest. It's coming, all right, and with enthusiastic workers in other sections of the country we'll hit the 10,000 mark this winter.

The "borders from within" are having a high old time in their frantic and fantastic efforts to permeate the old craft unions with "socialism." The A. F. of L. refuses even to stand on the "socialistic" plank in favor of government ownership of railroads and mines. Obviously the borders have miscalculated the direction of the bore.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

Chapter One.

The Socialist philosophy is constrained to take cognizance of every institution that exists by reason of the association of human beings with one another. Not only must it take cognizance; it must analyze, and it must find conclusions from the facts presented that will support its contention that it alone is capable of theoretically and constructively producing a social system superior to any that history records.

For a single individual to undertake to marshal the facts of history, in their order of sequence and construct a philosophy that will correctly interpret that history requires the intellect and the patient research of a Marx. Happily for humanity the task has been done in the work called "Capital" which Marx gave as a priceless legacy to the human race.

The duty now falls to the residuary legacies who appreciate the value of the inheritance to so utilize it as to make the race at large sensible of its value.

In this connection there are a number of matters pertaining to education in Socialist economics that do not seem to have received the attention they deserve at the hands of popular Socialist writers and teachers. Among such matters may be included the ethical attitude of Socialism towards religion; towards the institution of marriage and the family; towards the political state, etc. Subjects of this sort seem to be tabooed in most of our periodicals and rostrum utterances.

These are vitally important matters, and the Socialist movement cannot escape their discussion and the application of its philosophy to them.

It is the purpose of this series of articles to deal with subjects of this sort in a more or less connected way, the argument throughout being intended to show conclusively how economic determinism operates in its relation to them.

The nature of these articles will be of necessity largely academic in style and scope, yet it is to be hoped they will prove of educational value to those who follow them.

It may be that some of the statements made and conclusions drawn will tread upon the tender toes and corns of popular prejudice. However this may be, the matter to be presented is written with the conviction that it is the truth.

There are three things of first importance to every student being, from birth to the grave. These are food, clothing and shelter. They are the three first essentials to the life, the existence of the individual, hence to the perpetuation of the race.

From the time when man first was, the methods by which these essentials were obtained or produced and distributed, conditioned human, that is to say, social, institutions. In every epoch since recorded history began, and prior thereto, the customs and laws, the ethics and morals of the peoples of earth, the institutions of society, hence society itself, have conformed to the then prevailing mode of production of the necessities of life. This fact is stated in the terms of sociology as the Law of Economic Determinism—the materialist conception of history.

A clear understanding of the how and the why of this is indispensable to arriving at certain conclusions affecting society at the present day, and pointing to other organic social changes in the solution of the complex problems that have arisen to confront present day civilization.

Eternal change is the order of cosmic law. This law operates just as certainly and specifically in human society affecting its groupings as it does in the field of biology in differentiating species.

The animal man is differentiated from the brute by three elementary things: the power to laugh, his knowledge of fire, and his ability to use tools.

But time was when man was not yet, because his ancestors had not yet developed that reason of which the power to laugh is born, his knowledge of fire, and his ability to use tools.

But time was when man was not yet, because his ancestors had not yet developed that reason of which the power to laugh is born, his knowledge of fire, and his ability to use tools.

Lewis Morgan, the acknowledged authority on ethnology, in "Ancient Society" divides the history of primal society into three main epochs—Savagery, barbarism and civilization. These three are again subdivided, giving a lower, middle and higher stage according to progress in production of the means of subsistence. To trace out in detail the history of these is not within the scope of this essay. Incidental reference only can be made in the course of the effort to show how economic determinism shapes the development of society.

In the opening paragraph it was stated that the three things essential to the life of the individual are food, clothing and shelter; but for the perpetuation of the race there is to be added a fourth factor, to-wit, the relation that exists between the sexes.

The changing form of the institutions governing the socially recognized methods of this relationship are equally subject to the laws of economic determinism, and have since society assumed any semblance of organized form. In fact, all the multifarious phenomena of society are primarily the product of the changing form of what we call marriage and the family. Upon this basic fact, then, we proceed with the argument.

The ancestors of the human species had their habitat in trees, and their food consisted of fruit, nuts and roots. They must have inhabited the tropic and subtropical portions of the earth, and have differed from the ones of the historical epoch. Neither clothing nor shelter were then absolutely essential to survival, and in lieu of clothing their bodies were probably covered with hair.

What may have been the habits of these antecedents of the human race, we can only surmise; but, be they what they may, the formation of articulated speech, the discovery of fire and its use marked the transition from the brute to the human.

The discovery of fire resulted in changing the diet of Early Man from the raw products of the soil to a wider variety

method of wealth production consisted in the taming and raising of milk and meat producing animals, and until after the discovery of the Western continents by "old world" explorers we discover the process of evolution pursuing its normal course. The old world, however, contained nearly all the tame animals and all the cultivable species of grain, mace excepted, while America possessed but one tame animal—the llama, and perhaps the most useful species of grain—corn.

The Western continent had not outgrown the middle stage of barbarism up to the time of its discovery and conquest by the Europeans. Most of the northern half of the New World was still in savagery, and barbarism flourished in the equatorial and tropical regions. The natural resources of the western world gave rise to the cultivation of food plants, and the people lived in wooden houses, in fortified villages, except that the tribes living in the north and northwest had shelter of skins and bark, and subsisted largely on the fruits of the chase.

In the East, where industry assumed the form of herding flocks of animals, the cultivation of plants appears to have remained unknown far into the period of the middle stage of barbarism. The mode of living during this period was essentially nomadic. The Semites occupied the grassy plains of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the Aryans lived in the fertile valleys of the Oxus, Jaxartes, Don and Dnieper.

The mode of production prevailing in this period of barbarism resulted in transforming mankind from a race of dwellers in the forest to a race of herdsmen whose natural place to live had become the plains and villages.

The idea that the nomadic tribes had their origin in these regions is erroneous. Their ancestors, and even people living in the lower stage of barbarism, would not have been able to survive in these regions. Their ancestors lived in the forests, their natural home in savagery. The fertile feeding grounds of the herdsman had developed into the normal living place for the herdsman, who could not have survived in the forests.

As population increased and the herds grew larger, Semites and Aryans were forced further to the North and West, where the soil was less favorable and where the climate grew more rigorous.

These conditions made it necessary for the people to engage in cultivating crops in order to produce sufficient to feed their animals through the winter.

Here, then, was begun the cultivation of cereal crops, and it is a commentary quite probable that the grain produced primarily for stock feed, and not for the same kind of food becoming an important factor in human sustenance. At this stage of human development cannibalism gradually disappears.

In the higher stage of barbaric society, and merging into civilization there developed some knowledge of the use of metals and letter script for writing and preserving records was invented. This period is prolific in improvements of production than all the preceding stages together.

Hitherto such cultivation of crops as obtained was accomplished by primitive methods, the soil being tilled with a crooked stick. But, with the discovery of melting iron, agriculture was made possible on a large scale in fields by the use of the iron ploughshare. This increased in the productivity of the land in food production for the time being.

The iron ax and spade transformed the forests into arable land and meadows. These improvements resulted in a more rapid increase in population and concentration of larger numbers in a small area.

Included also in the new means of production were the cellars, and the hand of oil and wine, the wagon and chariot, ship-building with beams and boards, the beginning of artistic architecture, the founding of a metal-developed industry of metals verging on artistry and mythology.

To barbarism, then, civilization is indebted for knowledge of cattle raising, agriculture and new methods of increasing the productivity of nature by human agency.

Civilization profited by this knowledge in learning a wider utilization of natural products, and the development of art. This sketch outlines Morgan's presentation of the subject of the evolution of the human race through savagery and barbarism to the beginning of civilization, and may be summarized in Engels' concise language as follows:

"Savagery—Time of predominating appropriation of finished natural products; human ingenuity invents mainly things useful in assisting this appropriation.

"Barbarism—Time of acquiring the knowledge of cattle raising, of agriculture and of new methods for increasing the productivity of nature by human agency.

"Civilization—Time of learning a wider utilization of natural products of manufacturing and of art."

In pursuance of the purpose of the work this writer has begun in this series of articles, to indicate the manner in which sex relationship, marriage and the family in their various forms have been determined in the ages preceding civilization, and through it, by the changing methods of production, it becomes necessary to revert to the period of Primitive Man.

To make the application of an exposition of this subject clear to the reader I can present nothing better than a quotation from the preface to the first edition of Engels' "Origin of the Family."

"According to the materialistic conception the decisive element of history is pre-eminently the production and reproduction of life and its material requirements. The development of labor, the production of the means of existence—food, clothing, shelter and the necessary tools; on the other hand, the generation of children, the propagation of the species.

"The social institutions under which the people of a certain historical period and of a certain country are living, are dependent on two forms of production: partly on the development of labor, partly on that of the family. The less labor is developed, and the less abundant the quantity of its production and, therefore, the wealth of society, the more society is seen to be under the domination of sexual ties.

"However, under this formation based on sexual ties, the productivity of labor

is developed more and more. At the same time, private property and exchange, distinctions of wealth, exploitation of the labor power of others and, by this agency, the foundation of class antagonism, are formed.

"These new elements of society strive in the course of time to adapt the old state of society to the new conditions, until the impossibility of harmonizing these two at last leads to a complete revolution.

"The old form of society founded on sexual relations is abolished in the clash with the recently developed social classes. A new society steps into being, crystallized into the state.

"The units of the latter are no longer sexual, but local groups: a society in which relations are entirely subordinate to property relations, thereby freely developing those class antagonisms and class struggles that make up the contents of all written history up to the present time."

This most ancient and original form of the family traceable by history is that of group marriage, in which whole groups of men and women mutually belong to one another. But, all the forms of group marriage of which we have knowledge are accompanied by such peculiarly complicated circumstances—one thing is certain, that a preceding simpler form of sex-relationship, and hence to a period of unrestricted sexual intercourse corresponding to a transition from the brute animal to man.

The barriers slight as they were at first, and which became more and more pronounced in the development of methods of obtaining subsistence, against unrestricted sexual relationship in the herdsman whose natural place to live had become the plains and villages. The idea that the nomadic tribes had their origin in these regions is erroneous. Their ancestors, and even people living in the lower stage of barbarism, would not have been able to survive in these regions. Their ancestors lived in the forests, their natural home in savagery. The fertile feeding grounds of the herdsman had developed into the normal living place for the herdsman, who could not have survived in the forests.

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OUR BOOK LIST

Below we give a partial list of books which we are prepared to supply to readers of this paper. As will be seen the list contains many of the books with the contents of which Industrial Unionists should be familiar. They range from light, but instructive pamphlets, to the scientific and philosophical works of Labriola, Morgan and Marx. Any book in the list will be sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, and we ask all members of the organization and readers of this paper to order their books from us.

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forget. No human being can devote his whole time to brain culture and live unless some one else is devoting time to food culture.

"An instance of the professor's aliphod reasoning: 'It was morally better that all, rich and poor, should be treated alike.' Can 'the poor' attend a university and have the same opportunity as 'the rich'? If in a community some are rich and the majority poor, how can they all stand alike? Carnegie is a friend of the professor, and it's merely uttering a commonplace to say the colleges and universities of America are the property of the millionaire robber—and so are the professors. Mere capitalist lectures."

Starvation Wages

In its report to the State Conference of Charities of New York the committee on the standard of living says: "The \$2-a-day man, who is the \$600-a-year man, spends on the average more than he takes in, if he have an average family of wife and three children under working age. His rent of \$154 in New York gives him two, very rarely three, rooms. His food, costing \$270 for the year, gives him just 22½ cents a day for himself, which is just ¼ cent more than the minimum necessary for nourishment fixed by Dr. Frank P. Underhill, assistant professor of physiological chemistry at Yale."

The report was presented by Dr. Lee F. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, who said in part of a man getting average wages of \$2 weekly:

"His fuel and light, \$25, are so little that he must collect free fuel and have his children bring in sticks from the streets. For sickness he can spend \$11; for education—practically nothing but daily papers—\$5. For recreation, he and his wife and three children have \$3, or 25 cents a month."

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM—MEANS and METHODS—ACTIVE and PASSIVE ACTION

BY W. E. TRAUTMANN

PREFACE.
"Between equal rights FORCE DECIDES. Hence it is that in the history of capitalist production, the determination of what is a working day, presents itself as the result of a struggle, a struggle between collective capital, i. e., the class of capitalists, and collective labor, i. e., the working class."—Karl Marx.

This instinctive knowledge of the relations between the active economic forces between present day society brought forth the organization of labor on one side, arrayed against the combinations of capital on the other, and the latter, growing irresistible, with development of capitalist production on more and more advanced scale, are able to enforce the mandates, backed by economic power, as the standard of right and equity in a social system, in which not the force of numbers counts, but the force of ownership by a few over the means of life of the millions.

Anyone accepting these facts to be true and portrayed in every day observations and conditions, would presuppose that the organizations of labor, the logical results of capitalist exploitation, would be instruments of war, applied constantly and used in the struggle between the two contending forces. The trades unions of North America and England, however, while primarily organized for such functions, originally destined to be such medium for an effective combat against the class of producers, have transformed into "clubs," by which the capitalist class, with the aid of the criminal labor misleaders, pits one part of the working class against another part. Instead of being a deciding force to secure a semblance of "equal rights to the workers," the craft unions have become powerful factors for the disintegration of the latent elements of force, that are incessantly striving to the various organizations of workers.

"To make it clear, craft unions are active forces for the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation, and of the system of capitalist production. The working class as a whole is made to suffer by the abominable outrages perpetrated against them under the name of craft unionism." The means and methods applied by the craft unions under the pretext of a struggle against the employers of labor, are dictated by a conscious and faithful adherence to lessons learned in the training schools of the capitalist class. The actors behind the scenes are pulling the strings as commanded by the capitalists, and the bleeding, suffering workers, swearing today allegiance to these capitalist agents, because unaware of the forces behind them, and cursing and condemning them tomorrow because the "in gods" had no superhuman power, drift from one mistake to another; divorcing themselves today from one "hero" they fall prey tomorrow to the sentimental vapors of another. The reactive forces of resentment against errors and betrayals is directed against a few individuals, so also were individuals given credit and lauded for any passing success in the collective, instinctive endeavors of the masses.

It is for these reasons that the same fundamental errors in choosing proper fighting methods are recurring over and over again, because the rights of the employers are considered to be equal to the rights of the working class; while as a matter of fact, might alone establishes right.

"Equal rights!" To understand the maxim quoted at the head, presuppose that every living human being should have an equal right in the enjoyment of the natural resources and the fruits of collective labor giving value to these elements of mother earth. Yet a class of comparatively few determine the standard of equal rights by their economic force, and the mass of exploited workers has accepted their measure as an irrevocable economic law.

The craft union movement aided in giving strength to such false ideas, and the methods pursued under the pretext of "securing for labor a fair day's wages," yet recognizing the economic mastery of a few with their claim for a "fair profit," tended only to distract attention from the real issue confronting the workers all over the world in the struggle for their equal rights.

But it may be said that the class instinct of the workers often found its right expression by such action as started the upholders of the present social system, set shrewdly conceived, beat at naught, and amazed the preachers, professors, lawyers, labor fakirs and other self-elected harmony promoters.

The soul of the working class has chords that need only be touched at the right time to call forth the message that leads to action in the struggle for their rights. And there are no rights of others that the wealth producers are bound to respect.

"Solidarity," the battle cry of an army of down-trodden, cannot be lectured or legislated into being; it cannot find its expression in college discourses; its actual living force is found in the fields, in the workshops, the mills and the mines. Meek, submissive and cowed today—one course, one brutal word, one expression of contempt, and the slave becomes a man within one hour's time. He finds that a connecting, unbreakable link welds him together with others in his place of employment; he feels that all, yes all, are his comrades, and no power can resist when once that instinct gains momentum and force in well-directed and directed actions.

But the master wakes; and so do his pliant tools. How often did the irresistible force of spontaneously developed working class solidarity sweep away all opposing powers; and how often was this force shattered again by the betrayals and false issues.

But there has not been one conflict, not one move, even though made often in a wrong direction, from which the workers could not draw good object lessons. Methods and tactics change, and in every industry, in every country, other methods may have to be applied in order to establish that economic force and pressure in the incessant conflicts for the workers' rights.

To learn all these various methods is

one of the supreme duties of all who struggle and strive for the advancement of the workers' cause. What may be tactically right in one conflict may prove disastrous in another; what may bring temporary success now may turn into a defeat later, if the workers fail to watch the moves of their enemies.

A knowledge of the structure of present society and the laws governing the relations of the two classes also suggests the structure of such organizations of labor best fitted to cope with the formidable force of our adversary. It presents itself as a logical sequence that an equal knowledge of the shortcomings of antiquated methods makes imperative the adoption of up-to-date and advanced methods in the daily conflicts between the capitalist class and the working class.

But there must come an end to the class war. The final test of strength between the two contending forces will cap the climax of capitalist development.

That the final struggle may soon come, millions of workers, with their numbers continually increasing and their force augmenting, believe, and for it they strive and organize. How this last contest will be fought out nobody dares to predict, nor should it be necessary, but that it may be marked temporarily, if prematurely precipitated, by disaster and the slaughter of thousands—worse even than the butchery after the collapse of the Paris Commune—should be anticipated in case the working class fails to see the necessity of organizing right and shaping their fighting methods and tactics according to the requirements of an advanced age.

A working class, so trained and educated that they can apply every day different tactics and methods, cannot be trapped and ambushed; always on the alert, always advancing, always solidifying its forces, it will march on, undaunted by the dire predictions that their efforts at ending the reign of misery and destitution will "end in a collapse of civilization," and will "turn society back into a state of barbarism."

A working class that fails to learn from defeats and victories alike, and trusts its fate to the command of a few self-glorified leaders, is doomed to suffer defeat in the final attempts.

The workers must organize for victory, and cannot afford to be content, not defeat and no disaster, either in the every day struggle, or when the moment shall come when the workers, united in industrial organizations, proceed with the management and operation of all industries, through the collective agencies, and turn out the oppressors and non-producers, and establish industrial freedom for all who labor and produce.

In this little book I have endeavored to present a few object lessons to workers everywhere; not one of the illustrations given is imaginary, only the conclusions and the reasons for developments predicted are elaborated on as dictated by an actual experience, and active participation in the battles of labor against the common foe.

(To be continued)

Would Cut Off Our Political Arm

A few Sundays ago a man from a distant point, visiting this section of the river, sat in the I. W. W. Hall and argued by the hour that we do not need the political power we have or that we are likely to have; that we need only the economic; that the political gets its power from the economic; and not the economic from the political.

Now there is always the shadow of truth in every assertion, for men have the faculty of making arguments to sustain their point of view. There is no doubt that the man who was speaking to prevent them from collapsing. To take and hold the mills, mines, shops and factories implies that the majority of wage workers, small business men and farmers would be on our side at the time of taking and holding. If the majority of legalized voters were not on our side at the time of our effort to "take and hold the industries" of the country, we would surely have failed.

"Waterloo" at the time of such effort, and such a "Waterloo" as the world has not known before. Now if we have the numbers and the power to "take and hold the industries of the country," why can we not have the power to elect a president and a congress to legalize this taking and holding? If we cannot elect a president and congress, by what process of reasoning can we lead ourselves to believe that we will have the power to take by force and hold the industries of the country? Such a proceeding can be clear in the mind only of the one who has not meditated over it and sees the thing in full light.

Some men remind me of a rooster that has been hypnotized by a white chalk mark drawn across a blackboard. This rooster stands with his bill glued to the blackboard, and can see nothing but that white line across this blackboard, hence is powerless to pull away and walk off. And if we take and hold in "this lawless" manner, what assurance have we of peace and security after? To disregard "law and order," but to take by force, is to do just exactly that which we condemn in the anarchists. Reader, did you ever contemplate the unreasonable nature of anarchy; did you ever stop to consider the fact that to resist just law is to strengthen the power of government, by making it apparent that restraint by force is needed? If no one resisted just law, if all fully obeyed just legal laws, governments would fall away for want of use, just as a snake sheds its outer skin when a new skin has fully formed to take its place. To resist the law, to undertake to do by force that which should be done by legal methods, would be to invite new laws to meet such cases of emergency. To declare that we would be counted out at the ballot-box, that we cannot draw good object lessons, but that we can develop an economic organization that can "take and hold the industries of the country," is to my mind the rankest nonsense! If we have not the power in the political we cannot have it in the industrial, for the industrial workers would need be Socialists,

otherwise they would not be in the game of "taking and holding"! Is that hard to understand? Can men who refuse to vote for social ownership of the land and tools of industry be relied on to "take and hold them" by "lawless" means? The lawless mob may be relied on to do things by force, but this same mob would show its spirit of "lawlessness" after the thing was accomplished, and would thus render that peace we so much desire and seek, impossible thereafter. FRANK REED.

To Working Men and Women

At this age we millionaires and masters seem to be in great disfavor. We do not hesitate to tell you that it is not right that you should have such a bad feeling toward us.

We millionaires and masters own the things which you need to use to live upon—that is, the Land, Machines, the Mines and Factories, and we tell you that if we did not own these things so that you could work for us and use them, you would starve; therefore, you should treat us kindly and be our servants, remember the great book, the Holy Bible, says: "Thou shalt love thy masters always and be satisfied." Even though your lot be small down here below, remember that your reward in heaven will be equal to ours. Beyond the petty greed of that great celestial city on whose pavements will patter your tiny angel's feet on its cobblestones of solid gold and from its silvery fane-fountains your ruby lips will sip sweet nectar and drink unalloyed wine. Here your enjoyment after death will be equal to ours.

We know our wives and families have the best of the world's goods, while yours have not a sufficient quantity.

We live in ease and leisure, while you must work.

We have all the good things in life, while you are in poverty; but now you should not be angry over these things, for as we millionaires and masters have told you, if we did not own all things so that you could work for us and use them, you would starve; therefore, you see you are better off, even though you must suffer, than you would be if we millionaires and masters did not own the world, in order that you might work for us so that we could pay you wages.

Many of you want more wages, and when it does not decrease our share any we are always willing to give more.

You see we do not live by wages like you do, but must depend upon our profits.

And if you do not work so cheaply, we will not make such large profits, consequently cannot pay you such high wages.

The Socialists say that you can get along without us, but you can only see that you never have, for the same logical reason that inasmuch as fleas always have been, therefore a dog could not be happy without them. In the first place, he would have no INCHENY to wag his tail and he would lose his AMBITION to roll.

And again, reasoning from the same logical standpoint, inasmuch as bedbugs always have been, therefore you could not sleep without them. In the first place, you would be denied the pleasing sensation of a scratch, as well as that religious feeling of remorse for having taken the life of God's creature when trying to dislodge one of them with a pry bar.

Then, again, many times the life of the sleeper is saved by a faithful bug, who pounces down upon you and harpoons you just as you are about to dream of banking a million dollars.

Once in awhile there is one of your own number becomes rich by saving. You see if you save \$1,000 a year (A VERY SMALL SUM FOR A WORKINGMAN) and live to be a thousand years old you will be a millionaire—PROVIDED YOU DO NOT SMOKE. CHEW. DRINK NOR EAT.

Cleveland, O. M. Youtz.

"For God and Craft Union"

Fellow-Worker Wm. Yates writes from New Bedford, Mass.: "Enclosed find clipping from local press. Polish meeting which Webert interrupted was advertised in local press and also given out from P.O. church pulpit and the priest told his flock that after having dinner they must go to the meeting of the Weavers' Union. The Hart mentioned is a well-known fakir of the country. We would surely have failed. His opening remarks stated definitely that there would be no discussion and no questions, and an interruption would be summarily dealt with, but our men were too numerous and gave him a ha' for fair. The clipping states that there were 75 present, but Webert tells another story; according to his version there were 55, and he took 45 of these away. After the crowd left the speaker resumed his talk and complimented the remaining 10 upon their intelligence, and said that he was proud to say that they were good Polish people and believed in 'God and the craft union.' This is the kind of dope they deal out in this rock of the woods."

The clipping follows: "There was trouble at a meeting of Polish weavers called to order by Matthew Hart, secretary of the Weavers' Union, Sunday afternoon at Pheasant's hall, as the result of a number of the audience insisting on interrupting the principal speaker of the afternoon by asking questions. Mr. Hart warned them several times, and as they persisted he ordered them removed from the hall by the janitor. The result was that several of them did leave, and notwithstanding Mr. Hart's denial members of the I. W. W. persist that Charles L. Webert, member of the I. W. W., captured the meeting and took the majority of the spectators away and addressed them at another place.

The meeting was called by Mr. Hart for the purpose of organizing a Polish branch of the Weavers' Union, and nearly 75 men were present to listen to a special speaker from Fall River, who was secured to explain the benefits of the union. The gathering was informed before the man began to speak that he was not to be interrupted by any questions until after he had finished his discourse. Despite this warning, according to Mr. Hart, most of the audience persisted in jumping from their seats and breaking the rule. Mr. Hart overlooked the interruptions for a time, but as several men kept breaking in he ordered them to stop.

Charles W. Webert, who is a member of the I. W. W., wished to speak and

was stopped by Mr. Hart. Webert is said to have still persisted, with the result that Hart ordered him ejected from the hall by the janitor. The janitor happened to be an I. W. W. man also and refused, whereupon Hart said that he would not pay the rent for the hall. "Things looked promising for a little excitement for awhile, but the trouble was tided over and the infractors left the hall in a body, headed by Webert, who, it is claimed, led them somewhere else and addressed them."

Strike Fund Acknowledged

The following financial statement of the Graef hat band strike is issued by Branch I, Local 152, I. W. W., Paterson, N. J.:

MONEY RECEIVED.	
Local 152, Branch I, ribbon weavers	100.00
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Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	25.50
Baer's, Van Houten St., weavers	22.50
Totowa Silk Co., weavers	11.05
United Ribbon Co., Ellison St., weavers	10.00
United Ribbon Co., Grand St., weavers	9.25
Johnson Cowden Co., weavers	27.50
Pilgram & Meyers, weavers	34.25
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	33.00
Upland Silk Co., weavers	13.25
Migel & Blum, Clay St., weavers	7.00
Deiss Hat Band Co., weavers	9.50
Upland Silk Co., weavers	12.50
Strange Ribbon Co., weavers	17.50
Augusta Silk Co., weavers	20.75
Deiss Hat Band Co., weavers	7.00
Pilgram & Meyers, weavers	35.25
Johnson Cowden Co., weavers	20.50
United Ribbon Co., Ellison St., weavers	12.00
Columbia Hat Band Co., weavers	53.50
Deiss Hat Band Co., weavers	11.00
Strange Ribbon Co., weavers	13.00
Migel & Blum, Clay St., weavers	14.50
United Ribbon Co., Grand St., weavers	5.25
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	43.65
United Ribbon Co., Ellison St., weavers	12.25
Totowa Silk Co., weavers	7.00
Charles Miller Co., weavers	11.25
Columbia Hat Band Co., weavers	53.00
Deiss Hat Band Co., weavers	10.75
Reinhardt, Medford Co., weavers	9.25
Upland Silk Co., weavers	12.50
Colledge & Nolan (list not returned)	38.75
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	31.50
Pilgram & Meyers, weavers	11.50
United Ribbon Co., Ellison St., weavers	1.00
Totowa Silk Co., weavers	10.25
Deiss Hat Band Co. (list not passed around)	17.25
Charles Miller Co., weavers	30.00
Strange Ribbon Co., weavers	11.50
Columbia Hat Band Co., weavers	16.00
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	9.25
Baer's, Van Houten St., weavers	32.00
Weavers of Graef strikers at work	22.15
Upland Silk Co., weavers	25.50
United Ribbon Co., weavers	26.00
Columbia Hat Band Co., weavers	4.50
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	20.25
Weavers of Graef strikers at work	19.50
Weavers of Graef strikers at work	13.00
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	19.05
Weavers of Graef strikers at work	2.60
Outing of Graef strikers, weavers	80.46
Kraemer Hat Band Co., weavers	21.15
Baer's, Van Houten St., weavers	3.30
Graef weavers at work	1,237.51
Total income	1,230.25
Total expense	6.26
On hand	125.00
PAID TO GRAEF HAT BAND STRIKERS.	
25 strikers, each	5.00
12 strikers, each	4.00
9 strikers, each	3.00
8 strikers, each	4.00
8 strikers, each	6.00
8 strikers, each	4.00
14 strikers	103.00
10 strikers, each	8.00
10 strikers, each	8.00
6 strikers, each	10.00
7 strikers	78.00
5 strikers, each	12.00
Otto L. Panzer, for printing	1.75
5 strikers, each	12.00
5 strikers, each	12.00
5 strikers, each	12.00
4 strikers, each	12.00
Otto L. Panzer, for printing	1.50
5 strikers, each	12.00
5 strikers, each	12.00
3 strikers, each	30.00
3 strikers, each	24.00
1 striker	8.00
1 striker	8.00
1 striker	8.00
1 striker	8.00

Total income 1,237.51
Total expense 6.26
On hand 125.00

PAID TO GRAEF HAT BAND STRIKERS.
25 strikers, each \$5.00 125.00
12 strikers, each 4.00 48.00
9 strikers, each 3.00 27.00
8 strikers, each 4.00 32.00
8 strikers, each 6.00 48.00
8 strikers, each 4.00 32.00
14 strikers 103.00
10 strikers, each 8.00 80.00
10 strikers, each 8.00 80.00
6 strikers, each 10.00 60.00
7 strikers 78.00
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
Otto L. Panzer, for printing 1.75
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
4 strikers, each 12.00 48.00
Otto L. Panzer, for printing 1.50
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
5 strikers, each 12.00 60.00
3 strikers, each 30.00
3 strikers, each 24.00
1 striker 8.00
1 striker 8.00
1 striker 8.00
1 striker 8.00

P. S.—In view of the fact that the strike is still on, a supplementary report will be issued later.

THE COMMITTEE.

The local union of Salt Lake City, recently organized by George Speed, sent in this week a list of 72 new subscribers for The Bulletin, with the cash. This is the record for locals. It's a good mark to aim at. Can your local beat it?

The headquarters of the I. W. W. at Portland, Ore., have been moved from 292 Burnside street to 204 So. Fourth street, where Industrial Unionists are always welcome.

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PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

[Copy of Constitution Sent on Application.]

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